2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
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224 I have never seen a deer killed except in this way. It is child's play and was obviously learnt from the whites.[5] In the old days they were killed only by stalking or through a sudden encounter in the forest. They are rarely mentioned in folklore. After deer the pig-like *tateti* is the next largest game animal. I never heard of its being stalked, and the *tateti* that were taken during my stay among the Kaingáng were all killed cooperatively. Dogs drove them into their burrows, and a number of men combined to get them out. One day my dogs drove a *tateti* into a burrow on the side of a hill; while one man shoved into the burrow a bundle of flaming bamboo on the end of a long pole the others stood around with loaded guns, and when the beast emerged it was shot. Sometimes men wait above the entrance to the burrow and club the *tateti* when it emerges.

Peccary hunting I know only by hearsay. Although a couple of troops of peccary (called "pig of the forest" by the settlers) passed by while I was among the Kaingáng I took no part in their pursuit. The Indians, however, tell me that they surround and shoot them or stab them with knives on the ends of poles. Sometimes, however, they are pursued by one man alone. They are very dangerous animals when brought to bay, and it is well to keep one's distance. Formerly peccary were an important item of Kaingáng diet, but nowadays they have grown scarce in the vicinity of Duque de Caxias and are not found even far up the river. "*Nggĩyúdn* has become angry with us," the Indians say, "and has closed up the pigs in his corral."

223 The Kaingáng have no bird snares, and all birds are shot individually with the bow and arrow where they are encountered.

Subsistence Figures

262 The following discussion is based on the data which I collected during 146a five weeks' hunting trip into the forests with the Indians. During that time it was possible for me to keep a fairly accurate check on the distribution of meat because the population was concentrated in one spot, and the entire organization of the camp was directed toward getting meat for everyone. Conditions at the post, however, are quite different. There the 361 population is scattered along a half-mile trail and on both sides of the river, and it is therefore impossible to keep a day-to-day check even were such a check valuable—which I doubt, for in the region of the post game is ex-

[5] Waiting in a canoe for animals to fall into the river seems hardly removed from waiting at the termination of or along a *carreiro*—a further suggestion that the entire technique was taken over from the settlers. The agent used to tell me: "When I first came into this region all you had to do was turn your dogs loose in the forest, and the animals would come tumbling into your canoe."

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
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extremely scarce, and the Indians, instead of spending their time hunting, spend a great part of it tilling the soil.

The data that I offer present problems rather than solve them. They were collected at a particular time of the year: when the most important wild crop of the region, pine nuts, was ripe; when it was still warm and the tapirs ran slowly; when the females were heavy with young; when some wild fruits other than the pine nut were ripe and on the trees; when the bees were still making honey and their young had not yet begun to devour it. In other words, it was the most nearly perfect time of the year in the region where the Kaingáng would find it easiest to get food. Pine trees were abundant, which meant not only food for the Indians but also food for monkeys and all the four-footed animals that might live on the fallen nuts, particularly the peccary. Besides this the region was cut by many streams into which the dogs might drive the tapir so that the hunter could kill it easily. The difference that such a terrain makes in hunting tapir is amazing. Time after time dogs have been taken a little way up the river and turned loose on fresh tapir tracks only to run fruitlessly all day long because the lie of the land was such that the tapir need never drive toward a stream. The flat top of the ridge stretched for miles unintersected by any streams until it ended three hours journey to the northwest in the Deniker River. It was one of my grievances against the Indians that they would take my dogs to such a place against my will and let them run after a tapir until night overtook them, far out of reach of anyone, whereupon the Indians would return, leaving the dogs in the forest. Days later they would wander in, their snouts full of porcupine quills and their hides cut by the teeth of *quati*.

At the time of my study the Indians had hunted over the same area for almost twenty years. It is vast, and tapir are still to be found there; yet persistent hunting in one area must affect the number of animals, particularly when the favorite season for hunting tapir is the time of the pine nuts, i.e. when the females are heavy with young. Hunting by the settlers, although not very frequent, nevertheless occurs and may affect the quantity of game animals. On the other hand, during the five weeks' hunt the Indians had the use of my dogs—two well-trained tapir hunters—which I managed to keep fairly well fed. Under aboriginal conditions it would be rare for the Indians to have specially trained tapir-hunters, and they would never be well fed. This, of course, reduces the dog's efficiency.

Not all of the adult or adolescent males were armed during the trip, which, of course, reduced the efficiency of the group. Nowadays the young men never learn to shoot with bow and arrow, and if they are too poor to buy a gun they cannot hunt.

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Figures for Five Weeks' Trip

Tapirs Killed: 7[6] × *Average Weight* 200 lbs. = 1400 lbs.		262
Average population during 5 weeks	18 (not including infants)	146
Pounds of meat per person for 5 weeks	77	
Pounds of meat per person per day	2⅕	

The figures are self-explanatory as far as tapir are concerned. During this time about ten monkeys were killed and a number of birds of varying sizes of which I could not keep track. The weight of the monkeys as compared to the combined weights of the tapirs is so small that I shall not include them in the figures.

The figure of two and a fifth pounds of meat per day should be modified, as allowance must be made for the heavy hide, bones, and internal waste. Such an allowance would bring the weight per person down to less than two pounds. Not all of this meat remained in camp, for a considerable portion of it was taken away by Indians returning to the post. In addition to this meat the Indians were plentifully supplied with pine nuts most of the time and they sometimes had a fair supply of *tai*, a yellow fruit with a tasty pulp of very doubtful nutritive value. The quantities of other kinds of fruits consumed was negligible. The Indians also had along with them on this trip small quantities of corn and manioc meal and beans, and the new arrivals would bring food from the post. With all this, at no time could it be said that there was a surplus of anything but pine nuts. These were buried in a stream bottom to preserve them.

The Indians ate moderately; yet rarely did any kill seem to last us more than three days. This would mean about fourteen meatless days out of thirty-five. Fourteen meatless days would indicate that if the Kaingáng had eaten all the meat they killed they would have consumed not 2.2 pounds per person daily but 3.7 pounds. But probably as much or more than a third of the meat was taken back to the post. This would leave the original figure of about two pounds per person daily. To us two pounds of meat a day seems an extremely large quantity, but we do not view meat, as the Kaingáng do, as our principal food. To the Kaingáng, meat is the principal article of diet; everything else is garnish.[7]

Gathering Pine Nuts

An Indian selects several flawless bamboo stems,[8] cuts them down, splits them carefully from end to end into four strips about an inch wide, exam- 222 481

[6] An eighth tapir was killed the day before we returned to the post.

[7] This also makes quite a different picture from most of Melanesia, where vegetable foods are most important and meat is the garnish.

[8] Full-grown bamboo stems are about 15 feet in length.